5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

cemetery, a site chosen in some solitary arid spot, and surrounded by walls of cacti. At the death of Salvador, a Pushaina from Arroyo Cardon, 120 fat oxen were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their hands in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better. 764 765

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pia" (you have come), or "Eiguare pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, *poeú*, with a gourd spoon, *pushú*. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Goajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming an ox in return. He is chivalresque in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix *nushi* or *sushi* if the father, and *ni* or *si* if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nushijuan," or if a daughter, "Sushijuana." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Sijuana." 574 [264] [415] [431] 551

The dress of the Goajiros is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is cunning in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *caicha*. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he dons his best—a large loincloth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *shú*, with a magnificent sash, *si-ira*. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his immense sash, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very æsthetic style by a ring or crown, 291 [346] [177] 302 291

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

called *para* if made of plaited straw, and *capanaa* if made of wool, with large tassel (worn behind). The two can be combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes *toróma*. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without a *kapiquito*, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's journey, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders *mapuatepo* or *marua* are rotten wood; *guanapai*, a black stain from a wild nut; and *parisa*, very popular among the fairer sex, is the colour extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

The woman's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton, and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The white cotton is dyed black with divi-divi, or yellowish-brown with mora (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the suckers of mangroves. The Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the *púna* and the *sirapo*. The púna are like a pair of braces; long strings of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, held in position at the waist by the sirapo, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the female child a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the purse of the parents. Púnas are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (*iaschón*) preferred, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With sirapos any coloured bead will do, *piaur* or black ones the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the púna until her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the púna make it of cotton dyed black and braided. Among the many necklaces, tumas are the most valuable. These curious perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric races, both in the peninsula itself and the Sierra Nevada. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are *túma* (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small charm-barrels are *amurué*; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or dumpy, *periapa*, and *guariraiapa*; the bugle is *parauria*, &c. Mineralogically they are bits of red jasper, cornelian, and reddish sardonyx. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one at present is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 15 to 30, varying in size. Bracelets are as varied and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called *kápusa*, from *shapo*, the hand. On the feet they also wear strings of cornelians and beads. They have two names, the aristocratic *cushihendr* and the common *guaurihena*.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

551 told that among my own people I was a sort of medicine-man and chief combined.

Nowadays most of the Indians in Guajira acquire three first names: a Spanish one that the white men give them, a nickname, and their true, Indian name, which is secret except to members of their immediate family. When a girl is born, her father names her after her mother or some near female relative, but for everyday use she has a pet name [553] which is only dropped when she reaches marriageable age. She then acquires a new name, which she keeps for the rest of her life.

563 The Creoles called those in the border areas who were not 101 Indians '*gente*', or just 'people'. They could scarcely be called white, for many were as good as pure black, being the descendants of former slaves. When they told us in Rio Hacha that there were not any 'people' living in this or that village, they meant that there were none but Indians there. Those who were not Indians, that is those who wore trousers, also called themselves '*civilisados*', while the Indians called them arijuna.

115 We called our two old Indians Gaffer and Gammer, and 124 the youngest 'The Lad'. We liked The Lad especially. He was strong, merry and did the work of two. The fourth, who, strangely enough, had a crew cut and was supposed to be our interpreter, we called 'Bristles', and he learned to answer to that. He knew a little Spanish, but as an interpreter he was no use. When the Gaffer had been talking to us for a long time and we asked Bristles what he had said, the answer always was: 'Nothing'. Perhaps that was what the other's talk amounted to, but we should have preferred to have judged that for ourselves. We noticed, too, that if we had to scold the Gaffer, Bristles did not dare repeat what we said. With gestures and the few Guajiro words we knew we could make Gaffer realize that we were annoyed with him, but not always why.

291 The men wore nothing but the usual piece of cloth and 386 belt, the *nárcte*, or, in Spanish, guayuco, which really means crupper, and sandals to protect their feet from the cactus spikes lying on the ground, but the Gammer was enveloped

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

in a wide woman's tunic, dyed black with divi-divi. Her face was painted black, too. At her age that could scarcely have been necessary to save her complexion, but such painting is also a protection against dangerous spirits. The Gaffer carried his ceremonial dress with him, tucked away somewhere. This consisted of an oblong piece of cloth sewn up along one side and with a hole for the head at the top. It is worn draped in such a way that the chest is bare.

Thus our caravan made its way along. The animals' shadows contracted further and further. Soon the sun would be right overhead. The very air seemed to have melted in the heat, and the blue hills in the distance had begun to dissolve. Here and there grew a cactus, otherwise there was nothing but sand and salt to be seen. Slowly the caravan crept along. We spurred our mules and rode on ahead, but after a while we had to turn back in order not to go astray. We found the Gaffer riding and the Gammer walking. The Gaffer could hardly stick on. He swayed in the saddle, for he was as drunk as a lord, having smuggled with him a calabash containing spirits instead of water.

He was just about to take another pull as we came galloping up, and he was so frightened that he dropped the calabash, which smashed and the spirits ran out. At that we searched the old couple's baggage, despite their protests, and found another calabash of spirits. We gave the Gaffer a large coin for it. The two young ones were delighted at his misfortune, for his baggage had given them a lot of trouble. It was obvious that the Gaffer had started drinking early, for the loads on the donkeys in his charge were badly secured and danced about, so that one after the other had to be lashed on afresh.

We told the Gammer that she must restrain her old man, an order which the interpreter undoubtedly passed on, probably with some comments of his own. The Gammer was not popular with the two young ones, and Bristles would not lack the courage to tell a woman a few home truths. Gradually the Gaffer sobered up, and a good thing he did, for we were approaching an Indian rancho, where he would have to act as spokesman for me.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to with the years, and other strings of beads were put round their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads. All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines. Only the women took real pains about painting themselves. It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all over with black or red paint. This was not done for the sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sunburn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent. If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has secret significance. The women showed my wife red and brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

When migrating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Goajiro dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized ornaments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

They make designs on
their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms 302
and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is 304
the same as the tribal brand. [219]

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before day- 512
break, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who 462
then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other 286
products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sibs), bows 32
and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed 283
by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are [384]
colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for 286
hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by 323
a few tribes in the vicinity of the Teta, a peak near the middle of the 415
peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians 439
possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are 411
scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special sisal cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected